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After that, as one might almost expect, they began to speak in different tongues.

The tribal vocabularies have been compared by Chinnery and Beaver.[1] They have been commonly called varieties of Binandele, not because Binandele is known to be the original or nearer to an original than any of the others, but because it has been more closely studied. The Rev. Copland King put together a vocabulary of this dialect which was published in 1901,[2] and it has since been mastered by members of the Anglican Mission. The dialects are mutually intelligible to the natives, though not always without difficulty. To a European they sound very different, and a knowledge of one does not imply a speaking knowledge of another.

Natives have their own way of classifying the tribes (or some of them) according to dialect. There is a word *midia*, which means 'There you are!' or *voilà!*; and natives will refer to the Wasida tribe as *Mitia* people, the Sangara and Sauaha tribes as *Mihia* people, the Hunjara tribe as *Mihja* people, and the Aiga as *Midia* people. (Binandele and Yega people apparently do not use the word.)

The Hunjara tribe is very commonly called *Aha-maha*, from their distinctive manner of pronouncing the words for 'mother' and 'father', which the other tribes find somewhat amusing. An informant will go on to explain that the Binandele are *Aiaha-mamaha*, the Aiga *Aja-mama*, the Yega *Aia-mama*, and the Sauaha and Sangara *ajaba-mamaha*. (The Wasida use the word *enau* for 'mother'.)

Somewhat remarkable is the fact that at least four different words are used to name the ghost (or the spirit of the dead, or, again, the supernatural monster, which comes under the same category). Among the Aiga the word is *sovai*; among the Binandele and Yega *binei*; and among the Hunjara *siango*. The other tribes appear to use either *siango* or *embahi*. I do not know that there are any distinctive differences between the ideas of the several tribes on this point,

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.
[2] *Vocabulary of the Binandele Dialect, spoken by the Natives of the Mamba River, British New Guinea* (D. S. Ford, Sydney, 1901). New Edit., 1927.

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and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another, for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances, any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most of the fighting described in the following chapter will be of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*, and although the friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimitation of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name. I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

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by the sudden and somewhat revolutionary change which gives rise to what we might call a new cult. These two types of change present a striking analogy to the two kinds of change in biological evolution—the minute variation on the one hand and the mutation on the other. (Indeed, to carry the analogy further, we might say that popular favour exercised a sort of natural selection.) In biology the importance of mutations has of late been recognized. It is suggested here (without being indebted to the analogy except for the use of the term) that a theory of *cultural* mutations might be added to our theories of the growth of civilization. I suggested in the introductory section (not without an appeal to authority) that native culture did not possess that degree of stability or immobility which anthropology has usually taken for granted. The evidence of *Baigona*, of Taro, and of the variant cults seems to demand that we make allowance for swift and important changes—important both because of the greatness of the change in custom and because of the great numbers of people whom it may effect.

It is of the first significance to remember that the Taro cult has sprung up, flourished, and put forth its various new branches among one and the same people—the Orokaiva. If we conclude that Taro is at all indebted to its precursor *Baigona*, we would have to admit that to this extent it is an importation. But there is no question that Taro as a cult, which is to all intents and purposes a new one, came into being among the Orokaiva, and that the variant cults which have been mentioned in the course of the report likewise came into being among the Orokaiva.

Now this people, occupying almost the whole of the Northern Division of Papua, is strikingly homogeneous, not only in physique but also in language and culture. The differences between the several dialects of 'Binandele', puzzling as they are to a European, do very little to hinder the freest intercourse and conversation between members of the various tribes. As for their culture, one